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# **Investigating South African Women's Experiences of Life After Prison**

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## **Abstract**

Incarceration rates for women in South Africa are on the rise. However, all the research around criminality and incarceration in South Africa is male-orientated thus, South African women's voices are silenced and their experiences of life after prison are ignored. These experiences are vital in creating a safe environment wherein South African women who have served time in prison are able to flourish and not be limited by patriarchal and structural inequalities. This qualitative study investigated these experiences through semi-structured interviews of 10 South African women who had left prison within the last five years. These women experience no social or institutional support, unattainable demands from society that are based on sexist beliefs and find themselves isolated from the rest of the world.

*Keywords: qualitative, women, prison, patriarchy, inequality, intersectionality.*

Both globally and locally, an increase in women's incarceration rates has been noted (Agboola & Rabe, 2018; Steyn, 2017). The incarceration rates for men exceed that of women (Agboola & Rabe, 2018; Jules-Macquet, 2015), with women constituting less than 3% of the South African prison population (Department of Correctional Services, South Africa, 2015). Economic crimes have been on the rise (Jules-Macquet, 2015), which explains the increase in women incarceration rate as research has shown that 45% of women in prison have been incarcerated for these types of crimes (Agboola & Rabe, 2018). These statistics have to be understood in the context of Post-Apartheid South Africa, where its legacy has left majority of the country's population socio-economically marginalised (Agboola & Rabe, 2018). It is perhaps no accident that the majority of offenders are both socially and economically vulnerable (Agboola & Rabe, 2018; Jules-Macquet, 2015).

In spite of the growing interest in women's criminality, there is still an underrepresentation of women in research (Steyn, 2017). The literature that is available seems to reduce women's experiences to quantitative results that come from mixed-gender studies and that are mainly focused on women's pathways into the criminal justice system and their rehabilitation thereafter (Agboola, 2017; Steyn, 2017). This has led to various generalisations of women's criminal trajectories and similarly what their needs are in and out of prison, specifically aimed at reducing recidivism (Dastile, 2013). The research tends to disregard women's subjective experiences indicating a lack of research exploring the complex lived experiences of these women. Accordingly, our research aims to expand on this growing body of knowledge, by exploring women's experiences after being released, focusing on how the intersections of gender, class and race shape their lived realities. We aim to use these women as expert sources of knowledge with which to build a better understanding of women's needs and experiences after completing a prison sentence. A better understanding can help inform

policy and interventions which could in turn result in a better experience for these women in the future.

### **Literature Review**

This study explores the lived experiences of South African women after being released from prison. This section reviews literature on women's experiences of the criminal justice system and various factors that may affect their re-entry into society. Literature concerning women's experiences of incarceration is largely centred on several themes. These include the gendered nature of research, the role of individualism as an institutionalized morality and the multiple demands placed on women prisoners after leaving prison. This section also identifies various gaps in this literature that the current study hopes to address.

#### **The Gendered Nature of Existing Research**

Research on prisoners has predominantly been focused on male inmates (Baldry, 2010). The findings of this research have then been applied to women prisoners without any acknowledgement of the extensive intersectional differences that inform subjective experiences, including gender, race and socio-economic status (Burch, 2017). When male-oriented research on prison experiences and interventions are generalized to women, the success of such interventions are low and therefore we see high recidivism rates for women prisoners and difficulty in positively re-entering society after a prison sentence (Artz & Rotmann, 2015; Chesney-Lind, 1991; Strimelle & Frigon, 2011). Baldry (2010) notes that women who have previously been in jail occupy a liminal space because society has not fully accepted them due to their perceived inability to uphold the societal moral code that tells women they need to be unflawed (Baldry, 2010). Similarly, when reintegrating into society after a serving time in prison, women are expected to fill the patriarchal maternal role (Chesney-Lind, 1991). However, due to the fact that society perceives women's criminality as a flaw, there is disdain towards those who lie in this liminal space (Baldry, 2010; Chesney-

Lind, 1991), hereby leaving these women without societal and institutional support. Therefore, a woman who is at this standpoint is no longer a prisoner yet also not fully accepted into society thus, they live in a liminal space which is boarded by institutional and patriarchal limitations (Chesney-Lind, 1991). Women are kept in this liminal space through the lack of research and interest in understanding their needs and experiences (Strimelle & Frigon, 2011). Narratives from women in this position are therefore lacking in mainstream research but are needed in order to uplift and empower this population. The responsibility for reintegration thus comes to lie solely with them.

### **Individualism**

According to Beck (2012), individualism is an institutionalised morality which is based on the principle that an individual represents and is solely responsible for his/her self-interests. Research on incarceration highlights that individualism is the foundation for prison programs and policies that affect re-entry into society (Burch, 2017). In this way, a prisoner who is out on parole and/or has finished their prison sentence bears the sole responsibility for their ability to positively re-enter society (Burch, 2017). This view ignores the complex, inter-relational nature of the experiences of ex-prisoners, specifically by ignoring the social and structural limitations on one's re-entry into society (Burch, 2017). The structural limitations include unemployment and lack of access to drug rehabilitation and social support (Richie, 2001). The social limitations include white supremacy, patriarchy and misogyny which all use race, socio-economic status and gender as tools for discrimination. Research shows that all of these factors have significant bearing on a person's re-entry into society (Baldry, 2010; Bello, 2017; Chesney-Lind, 1991) and therefore we need research that takes into account the subjective nature of these experiences.

The focus on individualism in this research is problematic because women face many different experiences due to their positions in society at a social and institutional level

(Burch, 2017; Chesney-Lind, 1991; Strimelle & Frigon, 2011). The responsibilities that women experience include the standing expectations of ex-prisoners who are men which include employment and sobriety (Chesney-Lind, 1991). However, women also experience many additional, gendered responsibilities that result from patriarchal, sexist beliefs such as the expectation of being naturally maternal and the responsibility to uphold a high moral code. Although demands are not dissimilar across genders, the role of individualism ignores the fact that the patriarchy and its subsequent stereotypes of women places further complications on the experience of a woman's life after prison (Burch, 2017; Chesney-Lind, 1991). What further complicates this is that these barriers have not been researched. In fact, because of the lack of research, the women in this demographic's voices are silenced and barriers such as these have been ignored as being significant contributing factors at all. Therefore, we can see how the discourse of individualism has blamed this population of women thus allowed for the systematic oppression to go unchecked and limit these women in the confines of a liminal space. To prove that individualism is a harmful association with women's experiences in this domain, we will highlight the multiple factors that inform the intersectionality of women's experiences of life after serving time in prison.

### **Multiple Demands**

Research suggests that a cycle occurs when women offenders leave prison and transgress back into criminal activity (Agboola & Rabe, 2018; Jules-Macquet, 2015). This cycle is influenced by "risk factors" from life before prison (Jules-Macquet, 2015; Richie, 2001) and the multiple demands placed on women when re-entering society after being released from prison (Strimelle & Frigon, 2011). These risk factors include substance abuse, violence, trauma, and mental health issues (Agboola & Rabe, 2018; Javangwe et al., 2015; Jules-Macquet, 2015). Furthermore, it has been noted in various studies that the majority of incarcerated women have come from conditions of structural poverty (Agboola & Rabe, 2018;



Jules-Macquet, 2015). Studies highlight that incarcerated women's socio-economic and demographic backgrounds lead women to engage in high-risk behaviour such as criminal activity (Agboola & Rabe, 2018; Artz & Rotmann, 2015; Jvangwe et al., 2015). These studies all tend to suggest causality between women who commit crime and poverty, however these circumstances are also common amongst women who do not commit crimes and many women who commit crime do not come from these circumstances (Dastile, 2013). This ignores the structural inequalities that limit women and further enables a stereotype and generalisation of women offenders which paints poverty as the issue (Dastile, 2013). It has been noted that this ignorance is the consequence of the trivialization by society of these women's experiences; they have been silenced and ignored and therefore have been unable to share how their socioeconomic and cultural circumstances which expose them to multiple vulnerabilities in society shape their experiences (Dastile, 2013). Moreover, it is important to study women's environments in relation to their experience after prison, especially in South Africa since it is a country characterised by structural inequality (Agboola & Rabe, 2018; Dastile, 2013; Jules-Macquet, 2015). A platform is needed for their experiences to be heard within these parameters as few attempts have been made to understand each woman's individual circumstances (Dastile, 2013).

The conditions placed on people exiting prison and re-entering society include the requirement to have a place to live, acquire a job and remain sober (Strimelle & Frigon, 2011). On top of these expectations, women that have served time in prison are marginalized by society and expected to put their family, more specifically their children, at the forefront of their lives (Clone & DeHart, 2014; Jvangwe et al., 2015; Strimelle & Frigon, 2011). The external influences that prevent these women from acquiring employment are ignored and therefore meeting these demands is difficult (Jules-Macquet, 2015; Richie, 2001). Therefore, in order to take care of her children as society tells her is her sole responsibility, research shows

that women who are former prisoners will most likely engage in criminal activity as the only option to provide for their children (Richie, 2001). Furthermore, when a woman deviates from these roles her few alternatives are to 'correct' or rehabilitate her into a morally abiding woman (Dastile, 2013). The above makes sense of the fact that most of the literature focuses on the pathways into prison and various factors leading to recidivism. This is problematic because it shows how the research is not aimed at facilitating women nor is it conducted with any aims of social action and thus, women's experiences of their life after prison are left misunderstood. Therefore, although factors influencing recidivism do play a part in women's experiences after prison, they are not the only important focal point.

### **Gaps in the Literature**

There is a lack of a South African perspective when it comes to addressing the experiences of women. Most South African research has focused on women offenders' experiences during their time in prison or their experiences of motherhood specifically. Additionally, throughout the reviewed literature, it has been noted that demographic factors such as race, age, gender, socioeconomic status play a role in shaping women offenders' experiences. However, very little emphasis is given to how these factors might intersect to shape these experiences, which ultimately affects their reintegration into society (Agboola & Rabe, 2018).

Furthermore, the outcome that is of interest throughout the literature is recidivism; this is portrayed as the measure for successful reintegration. The interest in recidivism highlights the institutional agendas of research which are evidently to reduce reincarceration rates rather than understanding women's experiences so as to provide effective support for their reintegration into society; the institutional agendas referred to here also include the attempt to control a seemingly deviant part of society in order to regain social order.

Society has disregarded women criminals based on stereotypes and traditional values around women as moral figures (Baldry, 2010; Strimelle & Frigon, 2011). These views have been entrenched further by gendered discourses which are prominent throughout the literature. Women's experiences of life after prison have been neglected because of the institutional agendas that research focuses on; this being the recidivism rates of women in prison. This means that the majority of research on integration into society after prison is based on men which further highlights that we need research which explores women's experiences. Similarly, research has failed in terms of investigating, in depth, the intersectionality which influences women's experiences in this area. We need to consider the experiences of women who have been released from prison and how intersectional variables inform those experiences (Burch, 2017). This understanding will enable us to gain important knowledge of women's needs and experiences after finishing a prison sentence which will in turn be able to inform policy at an institutional and government level.

### **Research Question and Aims**

The aim of this research was to explore the subjective experiences of women who have been released from prison within the last 5 years. The research aimed to explore how they construct their own experiences, and how the intersections of their multifaceted identities shape their narratives.

Main research question: What are South African women's experiences after being released from prison?

Sub-Questions:

- How does the intersection of gender, class and race inform these experiences, within the context of society?

- What needs do women identify in their lives after being released from prison?
- How do women experience the expectations of their community and society as influencing their lives after release from prison?

### **Theoretical Framework**

This study uses an intersectional approach to understanding the data. Intersectionality theory acknowledges that women's experiences are layered, shifting across time, and context-specific (Cho et al., 2013; Samuels & Ross-Sheriff, 2008). According to Crenshaw (1991), studying human experience along a single axis does not benefit society. By using an intersectional approach, we have endeavoured to avoid essentializing any single analytical category of identity and rather unpack the interlacing privileges, oppressions and identities in order to better understand these women's realities (Samuels & Ross-Sheriff, 2008).

Intersectionality theory is a multisystemic approach which undertakes analysis of the structural macro levels and the consequent individual microlevels (Samuels & Ross-Sheriff, 2008). An intersectional lens has therefore allowed us to conceptualize how women's integration into society is influenced on both a structural and personal level, for example, women's experiences of the institutional limitations and community expectations respectively (Cho et al., 2013). Additionally, there has been a call for intersectional studies to use their knowledge to contribute towards the transformation of society through social justice (Cho et al., 2013). Intersectionality has the capacity to be used as a tool for social and economic justice (Samuels & Ross-Sheriff, 2008), and plays a major role in facilitating consideration of gender, race and class in political discussions (Cho et al., 2013). Intersectionality leaves space to either develop society's articulations of the subject or to replace them completely

(Cho et al., 2013). Thus, the objectives of intersectionality theory coincide with those of the current research.

South African women who leave prison are a good example of intersectional subordination (Crenshaw, 1991) – leaving prison is the burden that has been studied, however this burden interacts with pre-existing vulnerabilities to create a whole other element of disempowerment (Crenshaw, 1991). This is why using an intersectional lens was important when analysing these experiences. The advantage of using an intersectional approach is that it is seen as a central point of enquiry rather than a closed methodological system (Cho et al., 2013). Therefore our open-ended investigation into the experiences of life after prison for South African women had space to create deeper understandings that may have not been engaged with before.

## **Methods**

This study is a subsidiary of a master's study investigating the motherhood experiences of formerly incarcerated women. While our research question was different, our methods were largely aligned with and informed by the Masters study.

### **Research Design**

We used a qualitative research design. Qualitative research focuses on the subjective aspects associated with individual and group phenomenon (Lune & Berg, 2017). Qualitative research aims to prioritise the voices of its participants by creating a space for them to share their experiences (Lune & Berg, 2017). A qualitative approach allowed us to explore a range of aspects relating to women's subjective experience of their lives after release from prison. Similarly, qualitative research allowed us to explore the intertwining nature of their identities without reducing them to statistical categorical variables (Trahan, 2011). This design has

provided us with rich descriptive accounts of the contextual nature of peoples multifaceted lived experiences (Trahan, 2011).

## **Sampling**

Women who are 18 years old or older, mothers, and who had been released from prison within the last five years were recruited to participate in this study. Purposive sampling was used because the study was aimed at a specific group of people who fit specific criteria (Aurini et al., 2016). Participants were recruited from specific NGO's as per the procedures outlined below. Thereafter snowball sampling was used. Participants who were already interviewed were asked to lead us to other potential participants who met the criteria (Aurini et al., 2016). This was helpful as the population being studied is fairly small in South Africa.

A sample size of ten women was used. This sample size has been chosen due to the small population of formerly incarcerated women. Additionally, the sample size is appropriate given that the research did not aim to make generalisations about the population, but rather seeks to provide detailed accounts of subjective experiences (Cleary et al., 2014) which are then able to inform larger, more specific research in the future.

## **Procedures**

An advertisement (Appendix B) was sent to NGO's and other relevant contacts to request their assistance with recruitment. These sources were asked to distribute study advertisements to prospective participants. Women who were interested made contact with the researcher's to express their interest. We conducted four interviews ourselves and used six interviews from the master's study. Contact was made with participants to arrange an interview time. Once the participant had provided informed consent a semi-structured interview between sixty and ninety minutes took place over WhatsApp video call and where

this was not possible, an audio call was made. Interviews were recorded and transcribed, and when necessary translated to English. Once interviews were completed, participants were given the opportunity to reflect on their interview experience. Each participant was given a resource list of support and counselling services, as well as a R150 grocery voucher to thank them for their time.

### **Data Collection**

The data used for this study was collected using semi-structured interviews that were guided by our interview schedule (Appendix A). Our field of interest was both broad and under-researched, therefore this interview style acted as a means to help us attend to subjective truths (McIntosh & Morse, 2015). We aimed to challenge the dominant discourses prevalent in existing research through these uncovered truths, and furthermore effect action for social change (McIntosh & Morse, 2015). We believe that an in-depth understanding of these women's experiences will guide further research such as this, create more awareness and inspire action for change. Each interview was conducted by both researchers in order to gain more perspective and reduce bias as much as possible (Blanche et al., 2006). Similarly, each interviewer's transcription and translation was reviewed by the other. Our supervisor also read the translations for quality. This data, along with those that have been completed from our parent study, formed part of our data corpus.

### **Data Analysis**

We used Braun and Clarke's (2012) thematic analysis to analyse the data. Seeing as though semi-structured interviews yield narratives that speak to a wide range of subjective experiences (McIntosh & Morse, 2015), we needed a flexible approach to analyse them (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Furthermore, we arranged our data in a concise and easy-to-follow structure with which to build a discussion through interpretation (Braun & Clarke, 2012; McIntosh & Morse, 2015). Thematic analysis worked together with our intersectional

approach to understand the multi-layered subjective experiences of South African women who have left prison (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

The six steps that we followed are in accordance with Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step framework for thematic analysis. We first familiarized ourselves with our data and then we generated our initial codes. After this we began to search for themes. We reviewed and synthesised all of these themes. Once our themes had been finalized, we named each theme. Lastly, we produced the report.

### **Ethical considerations**

Ethics clearance for our parent study was granted by the Department of Psychology's Ethics Committee: the attached interview schedule, advertisement and consent form were also approved.

### **Informed consent**

Our participants signed a consent form (Appendix C) which notified them that their participation in this study was voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw at any point, if so, their data would not be included in our analysis. Additionally, the participants were informed about the nature of our study, what would be required of them and how their data would be used.

### **Confidentiality and privacy**

Confidentiality and privacy was upheld by protecting the identities of our participants using pseudonyms. Additionally, recordings of the interviews were destroyed after the analysis was completed and any identifying personal information that was given in the interview was removed from transcriptions. Finally, the transcriptions were kept in a password encrypted file that only the researchers and our supervisor had access to.

### **Risks and Benefits**



Some of the questions were emotionally distressing and therefore we provided a list of referral resources for counselling to each of the participants (Appendix D), we checked in on our participants' emotional space throughout the interview, and we debriefed our participants after the study to ask them about their experience of the interview. The time taken for participation equated to two hours; which included the reading and signing of the consent forms alongside the interview. Data was needed for participation however, if the participant did not have access to enough data we allocated 1GB to them. With regards to benefits, we have compensated each participant with a R150 grocery store voucher for their participation.

### **Reflexivity**

Reflexivity is typically viewed as the process of continual, critical self-reflection and evaluation of the researcher's positionality, as well as the acknowledgement of how the researcher's active role in the research may affect the research process and outcome (Berger, 2015). It recognises the fact that the researcher becomes part of the research from data collection to interpretation (Couture et al., 2012). Despite women giving their own account of their experiences, the researchers ultimately decided what questions would be asked as well as what information and data would be utilised within the data analysis and write up. Therefore, it was important for the researchers to self-reflect and take responsibility to better understand the roles of their position in the creation of knowledge (Berger, 2015).

We acknowledged our positionality with regards to gender, race, affiliation, age, socio-economic status, personal experiences, beliefs, bias, theoretical and political ideologies (Berger, 2015) while conducting the research. By using an intersectional theoretical framework, we acknowledged that researchers also have multi-faceted identities that intersect which may have affected the research (Couture et al., 2012). This is important for the current research as it enhanced the accuracy and quality of research, by allowing us, as researchers,

to consider how we both assisted or hindered the process of the research and findings (Berger, 2015). We ensured our reflexivity by utilizing time after each interview to discuss our experiences and give each other feedback. Similarly, during the transcription phase of the process we shared notes and feelings with each other as well as with our supervisor.

### **Discussion/Analysis**

The women that participated in this study committed a wide range of crimes including but not limited to fraud, murder, and drug use. Despite the difference in their crimes and time spent in prison, the women described similar experiences of life after prison. Society does not consider the circumstances of the crime and further holds strict judgements on and stigma towards these women. The lack of social and institutional support that these women receive marginalize them to a liminal space where their ability to create a new life is hindered. Through the process of analyzing the data we identified several recurring themes in the experiences of these participants. These were centered around the stigma that women who have served time in prison experience, the sexist, patriarchal beliefs which govern how these women should behave when reentering society and the isolation that results from the lack of social and institutional support. Lastly, the common result of the above experiences was that these women resort to a mentality of “it is what it is” as they have no choice but to rely on only themselves during their reintegration into society.

### **Stigma**

Women who are in the process of re-entering society after serving time in prison experience stigma and negative attitudes due to their past. Women in this position find it difficult to overcome the judgements placed on them by society and prefer to isolate themselves to avoid its negative effects on their experience of life after prison. This suggests that despite being free, these women were still under the control of society and its

judgements. The stigmatization of women who leave prison is deeply rooted in society and the women that were interviewed experienced this to the extent that they felt that even feminist organisations that are meant to advocate the rights of all women overlook them.

*“you can try and make right but you know trying to do that is hard because they got this picture in their brain that is you and they will always look at you in that way...I was rejected by my own family...so you don't fit in and so you can't do certain things or whatever, but you just weren't good enough and you were a drug addict, so they just look at you that way. They don't have time or place for you, so you have to go to the road. And that is how you end up doing the same thing over and over” (Sarah)*

Sarah demonstrates the fact that women who serve time in prison try to fit societies standards but that the judgements and negative attitude held towards them does not allow this. Eventually these women internalise the negative attitudes which are experienced through gossip and the lack of community support and thus start blaming themselves for their negative experiences of life after prison. similarly, literature suggests that the discrimination and backlash ex-offenders receive from their communities and society leads to self-stigma (Moore et al., 2018). This happens when the negative perceptions and attitudes of the community and society are internalised which results in a poor self-concept (Moore et al., 2018). This further promotes avoidance and withdrawal, which may increase the risk of reoffending (Moore et al., 2018).

*“...people treat you like a dog and then when you come out, you still get those people looking at you like 'sy was in die tronk' you know? You not good enough to be in certain companies*

*or you not good enough to do certain things because you was now a prisoner...and you start blaming yourself for things that happen to you”( Sarah)*

The stigma attached to women who serve time in jail creates low self-worth and self-esteem, which may have also been a result of internalising the stigma of the community since, literature notes that internalising stigma has been associated with low self-esteem and poor mental health and well-being (Moore et al., 2018). Most of these women’s purpose becomes surviving and providing for their children and families. Women in these positions express the desire to be understood and seen for who they really are despite their criminal past yet, almost all the participants mentioned that being interviewed for this study was their first experience of being asked about their experience without judgement. The stigma that these women face, results in the loss of hope in society and their community. No matter how hard these women try they will not be able to satisfy society’s standards; society will always perceive their criminal status as the forefront of their identity. This why a deeper understanding of these women’s experiences is needed so as to make a small but significant move towards changing societies old ways of thinking.

### **Gendered Demands**

In accordance with the findings of Chesney-Lind (1991), this study found that the stigma and negative attitudes held towards women who have served time in prison are characterized by patriarchal and sexist beliefs. The women we interviewed all described one of the biggest challenges on returning to life after prison as being the inability to meet society’s expectation of being a good mother. Bianca even describes the stress of trying to keep up as “[Wanting] to keep up with the joneses” – referencing the famous Hollywood movie and its parallel of trying to be the best of the best according to society’s standards. The

expectations described by the women who were interviewed include being able to financially provide for their children, to provide them with housing, to cook and to clean and emotionally support them. Even though the standards for women who leave prison are so high, they are automatically deemed as ‘bad’ in relation to these standards simply because they served time in prison. Therefore, they are given no real opportunity to flourish when reentering society after serving their time in prison.

Throughout the interviews the lack of male support in family dynamics was evident – eight out of the ten participants had no financial or emotional help from the children’s fathers - and the women’s expectation to hold all responsibility for caretaking posed high levels of difficulty for their reintegration into society. Women who have served time in prison struggle with their roles as caregivers on a day-to-day basis and describe how they are expected to be satisfied with their life now regardless of the stress because this is seen as their duty. Additionally, all the women exclusively blamed themselves for the struggles that their children endured regardless of other circumstances. For example:

*“I hate that they have been traumatized by their father’s behavior but mine as well. They needed him more than ever and I wasn’t there to protect them because of the bad choices I made. I hate that they were punished because of my mistakes.” (Simone)*

In this example the psychologist working with Simone’s child decided that her daughter’s self-harm was a result of her father’s actions. This explains how these women and their past behavior is perceived to hold all the responsibility over their children physical and mental health simply because of patriarchal views that govern the way society identifies women. These women described the extreme sexism they experience outside of prison and remember being shocked at the time of release over how entrenched the sexism in South Africa is:

*“I am not treated with dignity. I knew there was a culture of that kind of attitude towards women in our society, it really opened my eyes to how deep it actually goes.” (Jamie)*

The sexism experienced by the women who participated in this study supports the findings in Burke (2009) that indicate the more complex difficulties experienced by women who leave prison when compared to their male counterparts. Thus, one can clearly see that the imbedded sexism within South Africa causes society to view women that have served time in prison as second-class citizens and furthermore, the judgements that society places on women who have spent time in jail are based on patriarchal views which create barriers that limit these women to a liminal space within broader society where creating a new life is made difficult.

### **Isolation**

Many of the women who have served time in prison re-enter society only to be isolated once again.

*“Because I’m all alone. And people think they are alone, but they don’t know what alone is.”*

*(Sarah)*

For Sarah, and many other women who have been released from prison, this sense of loneliness is accentuated by the lack of support from communities and the government. This isolation means that these women are unable to create sustainable lives for themselves.

**Lack of social support.** The communities which these women go back to after prison do not trust them due to their time in prison. This results in gossip and harsh treatment of

these women. All the women who were interviewed recounted scenarios of rudeness by community members and had to choose to ignore it rather than speak up for themselves. Many women felt as though whenever a community member wanted to speak to them the intention was not to get to know them better but rather to gather information to inform gossip. Additionally, many of the women were not welcome in homes or communal spaces within the community due to stigma and distrust for the women which were effects of their time in prison. This meant that these women were isolated from their communities and forced to take sole responsibility over building community trust and making their way in society again. A challenge made more strenuous by the lack of support. This further emphasizes the difficulty that these women experience when trying to make a new life for themselves after prison. In the instances where this wasn't the case, the people involved in supporting these women were women who had been incarcerated before as well. This emphasizes the fact that a deeper understanding of these women's experiences is needed to remove stigma and develop programs which are effective in helping pave an easier path for women on reentry into society. Most of the women stated their need for programs which support their social reintegration after time in prison because it can be difficult to gain trust and help in a community on one's own. The importance of this need is clear because the few women who described more positive experiences of life after prison also experienced higher levels of social support. These findings support the results obtained by Graffam and Shinkfield (2012) which show that social support had a positive effect on an ex-prisoners experience of life after prison.

Additionally, most women who leave prison leave with the intention of never going back and are therefore under a lot of pressure to meet all the standards set for them by their communities. The general theme across the women that were interviewed was that their communities expected them to fail and therefore were uninterested in helping them:

*“A simple fight, a simple word that you can tell somebody. If you bump somebody, and even any little petty thing...everybody must be careful.” (Alice)*

It feels to these women as if their communities are “trying to chase [them] back to where they came from” as described by Sarah. This results in these women isolating themselves from their communities to avoid any further judgement and ridicule. This in turn makes it more difficult to create a new life when leaving prison as they are given no support by communities while simultaneously receiving no support by their governments or the institutions which claim to help them.

**Lack of structural/institutional support.** Women who are re-entering society after serving time in prison are already dealing with the multiple demands placed upon them from society, family, and the community yet there is also a lack of institutional support with regards to helping these women navigate their lives after prison. There are no intervention programs that focuses solely on them and their needs. Various women struggle to cope when attempting to adjust back into their communities, especially when they are meant to go back to environments which played a role in paving their paths to prison. Many of the women who were interviewed expressed fear of returning to the environments that they were in before going to prison as they fear that this may lead them to reoffend and further perpetuate a cycle of recidivism as it does for many women. Despite this common experience, there are no government programmes which aim to assist women in coping differently in these same environments. These women noted that this type of support would be vital in helping them manage with the various challenges that they are facing after prison. They express the need for programs that consist of check-ups to see if they are adjusting to their outside



environment and helping them deal with problems associated with their transition (Chikadzi, Victor, 2017).

*“...it is a cycle because if you do wrong some way or the other they going to catch you , and then you gonna go in and you gonna come out and you’re gonna do exactly the same thing because you don’t have a roof over your head, you don’t have anywhere to go, so it goes on and it goes on and on and on...” (Sarah)*

*“...the influences you know I’m still struggling...so uhm because uh...uh...I used to be on drugs and you know and...and...and...I’m actually struggling very very...I’m really struggling so uhm staying like...like I’m in the place where I started, I’m living in the place where I started...” (Jemma)*

There are a few programmes within prison that supposedly help women with their challenges after being released. However, majority of these women have noted that these interventions do not make any difference or add any value to their experiences of life after prison. This was said to be especially difficult for women who struggled with addiction and had to face their environment again after being released. The policies that are put in place are experienced by these women as ineffective and are said to not cater to their needs but rather that the focus is on the institutions need to control the inmates.

*“It was just a matter of attending the programmes so that it gets signed on your file to say that you've completed it. I was in prison for fraud, so I was supposed to attend a fraud and theft workshop. It was something that was required to be on my file, otherwise, I would not, be eligible for parole. The entire extent of the actual session was 45 minutes long, all it*

*involved was a paper which I self-taught. I didn't learn anything in that session. The session was supposed to be about why I committed the crime, why fraud is wrong and why there is a need to change the way I live my life. The mere fact that I attended the programme but had to teach myself made me eligible for parole. There are programmes but what value they add I cannot tell you. The ladies that have come out and done something significant with their lives have made it on their own and set their minds to living a new lifestyle.” (Simone)*

*“... mentally it breaks you down and they don't build you up. I mean, they say they offer all these workshops but between you and I that's a load of crap. They rush through these things because they have to have it on your file for when you go to parole, whether or not you actually take anything away from what they saying. They don't give a shit. They just sign you in and sign you out you learn nothing.” (Jamie)*

Whether or not the goals of these programs are to help support these women, the fact is that they do not and this is because they ignore the women's needs and rather focus on the institutional agendas. This further suggests that women who have been in prison are not seen as worthy of being active members of society and thus, are left to find their own way in life without any support. Moreover, these systems seem to leave women systematically oppressed, with very limited options when leaving prison, further perpetuating the stigma of women who have served time in jail. The women experience institutional 'assistance' as ironic because the same system that supposedly prepares offenders for re-entering society after being released from prison is the same system that implements policies that makes it difficult from contributing to the economy as active members of society. One participant has mentioned that they were not even able to open a bank account, highlighting how these women are blocked on various systems and levels within the economy and society.

*“The other thing I also find is, especially now that I'm looking for work again, I can't get a job because of my criminal record. which means if somebody is released on parole, that person is considered to be ready for the outside world. But yet the same government that DCS belongs to the same government and will not employ people with a criminal record.”*

*(Simone)*

*Employment.* Employment is a large factor that affects women's experiences of life after prison. All of the participants, with the exception of one, struggled to find formal employment and felt as if they were rejected from participating as active members in society. This resulted in either self-employment or informal, temporary jobs – this highlights the individualised responsibility placed on these women when re-entering society after prison. Even women with a high level of education or experience are unable to find work due to their criminal record. For those who can manage to find employment, the understanding is that they are underpaid and discriminated against due to their past criminal behaviours. The lack of institutional assistance in this area further perpetuates the notion that these women are seen as second class citizens. Women who serve time in prison are expected to meet government conditions such as having a place to stay on release (Strimelle & Frigon, 2011), yet the government does nothing to assist them but rather has sanctions in place which make meeting those conditions difficult. Similarly, society places pressure on women to be the caregivers which involves financially supporting one's children. Thus, as a result of both government and societal demands, these women are forced to do any work that becomes available to them despite any degrading aspects that make them feel dehumanized – an experience that most of the women accounted for.

*“the jobs that are available to ex-offenders are menial such as cleaning. People such as myself are over qualified. When you do get a job they totally underpay you, because you are in the desperate situation. Most of the ladies that I know who have gotten a job are treated so unfairly but you are so desperate you will do anything even the pay is peanuts.” (Simone)*

Due to the lack of social and governmental support given to women who leave prison, the sole responsibility of reintegrating back into society is placed on the women. The government does not consider that women go back to the same conditions that they were in before going to prison and thereby the social factors that lead women into committing crimes are ignored. Women leaving prison fear the environments that they are going to return to as they believe they influenced their path into prison and can furthermore create the same pattern again. This supports findings from previous research such as those from Agboola and Rabe (2018), Artz and Rotmann (2015) and Javangwe et al.’s (2015) studies. These women are given no tools to cope differently with their environments and it is their onus to ensure that they behave differently although the situation has not changed. To do this, women that are reentering society isolate themselves further.

*“I don’t go outside anymore. I don’t go out and I don’t communicate like talking and sitting and chatting... because I need to stay away from them you know.” (Jemma)*

Jemma’s account outlines how these women isolate themselves so that they can avoid being influenced by their old environments and thus avoid being reincarcerated. So as one can see, they have no system to rely on to help them avoid going back to prison; neither their government nor their community aids in the reintegration process and therefore these women

experience life from a liminal space where they are only able to use their own initiative to try a breakthrough the barriers that society and its structural counterparts have created.

### **‘It Is What It Is’ Mentality**

Due to the institutional and social factors which limit women who are reentering society after serving time in prison, the general mentality adopted by these women is that of “it is what it is”. The common experience of these women is that they feel as if they are fighting a losing battle and that to survive, they must accept that their position in society will not change on both an economic and social level. All the women reported relying on faith to cope with their adverse experiences, not only due to religious beliefs but also because they have no one else to turn to. When talking about how people treated them after they had finished a prison sentence, most of the women explained that most people viewed them negatively and only had rude things to say about them; none of the women attempted to stand up for themselves but rather their response was to ignore and accept that they could not change people’s views. Lastly, an interesting discovery was that at the end of each interview the women were so grateful and shocked to have people interested in their experiences; many women even describe their own families as being uninterested:

*“I’ve never spoke about this or the questions that you asked I had never spoken out to anybody not even my husband because they never ask, they weren’t even interested in asking... and for me now to know that people is interested in the feeling that we have is encouraging” (Alice*

These women have gotten so used to being isolated, treated as ‘others’ and unimportant that to have any interest shown in them was a surprise. This highlights that an entire South

African demographic has been silenced and ignored and this has deprived these women of having an opportunity to have positive experiences of life after serving time in prison.

### **Conclusion**

There are many challenges that South African women who have served time in prison face upon release. As soon as these women leave prison grounds they are stigmatized; having participated in criminal behaviour, society deems these women as second-class citizens and this results in harsh treatment of these women by institutions, society and their home communities. Additionally, the embedded sexism in and patriarchal roots of South Africa tell women that their natural state must be maternal and therefore their sole responsibility is to be the caregivers of society; women who have spent time in jail are not excluded from being expected to fill these social roles and this only adds another layer onto the pressures that they experience on re-entering society. Neither the prisons nor the communities where these women lived before prison show support to these women despite the expressed desire of these women for both social and institutional support regarding their reintegration back into society. These factors all intersect and result in a deep sense of isolation felt by these women who then become accustomed to this isolation and try their best to make their own way in a society which deems them as unimportant. We, as a country, have failed them and it is our responsibility to deepen our understanding of these women's experiences in order to create social change and provide them with support that will facilitate them in reintegrating into society after prison.

### **Significance**

This research intended to add to the very limited, but growing body of research about women who were previously incarcerated. It aimed to do this by providing research that provided a platform for women to express their own experiences. This, in turn, can further inform various interventions and policies that might better accommodate women's wants and needs after being released from prison. While contributing to the growing body of research, it also aimed to shift the nature of current discourse and literature around women and criminality, that have often led to generalisations and perpetuating stereotypes, rather than revealing the complex contexts and lived existential circumstances of women's experiences (Dastile, 2013).

### **Limitations**

A limitation of the study was that the sample size is small, and the researchers were only able to interview participants who spoke English and Afrikaans. This inhibited us from exploring the experiences of women who were not comfortably conversant in English or Afrikaans, and therefore our research is not representative of all women who were released from prison. Another limitation is that only one interview was conducted. This limited us from exploring how women's experiences may have changed over time, which may have further enhanced the data collected. Women who were involved with and recruited via NGO's may have had different experiences from women who were not. This could have also limited us from gaining a variety of women's perspectives and experiences. A final limitation is that the interview process took place over WhatsApp video call, which were subjected to connectivity and technical issues. This affected the quality and clarity of the interviews.

Another limitation is the fact that the women who were interviewed were all mothers and this means that experiences of women who are not mothers and who do not have children

to look after when returning home have not been acknowledged. Their experiences could have uncovered other layers of challenges and/or promotive factors for women re-entering society after serving a prison sentence. Similarly, the interview schedule was based off of the master's study which meant that the questions were aimed at mothers; this resulted in aspects such as race and class taking the back seat in the research. The fact that our questions were based on motherhood is in itself problematic as it accentuates the stereotype that women's lives, and in this case their experiences of life after prison, is centred on their children and their ability to be mothers rather than on the women themselves.

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

This research has suggested that the demands placed on women who have served time in prison differ significantly from men who are in the same position. There is room in the academic sphere for qualitative research on these men which can be used for comparison. Additionally, this research was limited to women who were mothers because therefore it will be useful for future research to broaden its demographic to all women who are reentering society as this will further deepen the understanding of the experiences of women of life after prison. A more specific trajectory for future research is that of the effect of social support and its consequent results of self-efficacy and self-worth on women's experiences of life after prison.



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## Appendices

### Appendix A: Interview Schedule



#### Rapport-

- *Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed today. I am very interested in learning more about you and your experiences of being a mother. Are you comfortable and ready to begin?*
  - *How are you today and how do you feel about doing this interview with me?*
  - *What made you want to participate in this research study?*
1. I'd like to start by asking you a little more about your life as it is right now. Could you perhaps tell me a little about yourself?  
*[Prompts: current employment, living situation, family and children]*
  2. Tell me more about your children  
*[Prompts: ages, genders, quality of relationship, personalities, challenges]*
  3. *What is it like to be a mother? How do you feel about it?*  
*[Prompts: what do you enjoy, what do you dislike, what is difficult]*
  4. What was your experience of being mothered and raised by your own mother and/or guardian?  
*[Prompts: quality of relationship as a child, what did she do well, what would you have like for her to do differently or better?]*
  5. How would you define a 'good' mother? What makes a mother a good mother?  
*[Prompts: what makes someone a good or a bad mother? Who do you think of as an example of a good mother? Example of bad mother?]*
  6. Where do you think your idea of what a good/bad mother is comes from?
  7. Can you describe your experience of being a mother while in prison?  
*[Prompts: contact with children, challenges of mothering, children's living circumstances, who helped/supported you as a mother during this time, how did being in prison affect you as a mother?]*
  8. How did your experience of being a mother change after you were released?

*[Prompts: how was it different from before you were in prison, what did you do differently, how did you feel about being mother then that is different now, are there changes in your relationships with your children?]*

9. Can you tell me more about how you felt people treated you when you were released?

*[Prompts: differences in attitude, changes in family relationships and friendships, people who have been supportive, etc.]*

10. Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about your experience that I maybe didn't ask about?

### **Reflection-**

- *Do you have any questions that you would like to ask me?*
- *How did you find the interview and were you comfortable doing it?*
- *In what ways could it be improved?*
- *How are you feeling emotionally? (Remind participant about free mental health services)*
- *Thank you very much for your time.*

## Appendix B: Advert



*Department of Psychology*

We are doing research to understand more about the experiences of mothers who have been in prison. If you are a mother and you have had the experience of being in prison, I would like to talk to you!

**Study title: Experiences of Motherhood from the perspective of previously incarcerated women**

Hello, my name is Rebecca Briscoe. I am a master's student in the Department of Psychology at the University of Cape Town. I am doing research on women's perceptions of motherhood and their experiences of being mothers before, during and after being in prison. I would like to interview between 12 and 15 mothers, who are 18 years or older, who have been in prison within the past 5 years, and who had children either before going to prison or while in prison.

**WHAT WILL BE REQUIRED OF YOU?**



Should you choose to participate in the study, you will be asked to take part in an interview with me that will last approximately 60-90-minutes. The interview will take place via video or voice call. You will be given 1 gig of data to carry out the interview so that you don't have to use your own data. Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you are free to withdraw from the study at any stage. There will be no consequences should you choose not to participate, or if you decide to withdraw.

### **WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE INFORMATION THAT YOU PROVIDE?**

The interviews will be audio-recorded, and the recordings will be transcribed into text. The recordings and transcriptions will be locked in a password protected computer and only the researchers, supervisor and transcriber will have access to them. Once the recordings have been transcribed, they will be destroyed. All of your identifying information will be removed from the interview transcription, including your name, family members' names, place of work, and any other information that might make you recognisable to other people. That information will be used to write research reports and may be submitted for publication in an academic journal. However, no one will be able to tell from reading those documents that you participated in the study.

### **WHAT WILL YOU GET IN RETURN?**

In addition to helping me contribute to the limited amount of South African research on the motherhood experiences of women who have been in prison, you will also receive a grocery store voucher to the value of R150 to thank you for taking the time to participate in this study.

## **ARE THERE ANY RISKS FOR YOU?**

There are very few risks to participating in this study. However, you may be asked some questions about your life experiences that feel uncomfortable for you to answer or may bring up painful memories. If that happens, you are free to refuse to answer any questions, or to ask for a break, or to withdraw from the study completely. You will also be provided you with a list of free counselling services that you can contact if you feel that you need additional support.

**This study has been approved by the Research Ethics Committee within UCT's Psychology Department.**

If you are interested in participating in this study and would like to know more, please send a WhatsApp message to me, Rebecca Briscoe (the Researcher) at 0827770149. You can also reach me by email: [brsreb003@myuct.ac.za](mailto:brsreb003@myuct.ac.za).

If you have questions or concerns about this research, you may contact *Rosalind Adams* (as representative of the Ethics Committee)- [rosalind.adams@uct.ac.za](mailto:rosalind.adams@uct.ac.za) or 021 650 5417.

## Appendix C: Informed consent

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN  
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY



CONSENT FORM TO

PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH

STUDY

Study Title:

**Experiences of motherhood from the perspective of women who have been in prison.**

RESEARCHER: Rebecca Briscoe

SUPERVISOR: Dr Maxine Spedding

Dear \_\_\_\_\_

I am a Masters student from the Department of Psychology at the University of Cape Town and I would like to invite you to participate in my study. The purpose of this study is to understand more about the experiences of mothers who have been in prison. The reason why we want to learn more about this is because there is currently very little research about this. Participating in this study is entirely your choice. There is no pressure for you to take part, and there will be no consequences if you decide not to.

**Why are you being asked to participate?**

You are being asked to participate because you are: 18 years or older; you have been in prison within the last 5 years; and, you had one or more children who were born before or while you were in prison.

**What does participation involve?**

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be invited to participate in an interview by phone or by video call. The interview will last between 60 and 90 minutes and you will be asked a variety of questions about your experiences of being a mother, both now and while you were in prison. The interview will be recorded, no one will have access to the recordings except me and my supervisor.

**Are there any benefits to participating?**

You will receive a R150 grocery voucher to thank you for your time. There are no other direct benefits to you as a participant. Our goal is to use the information gathered in this study to help us understand more about the experiences of mothers who have been in prison. We hope that you gain some benefit from knowing that you are helping to add to our knowledge of this topic.

**What are the risks and costs associated with participating?**

Participation will require about 60-90 minutes of your time. The interview will take place via video or audio call, at a time that suits you best. You will be given 1 gig of data for the interview. The interview will be recorded.

Participating in the study should not put you at any risk. Some people may find that talking about certain subjects is difficult, and could make them feel upset. You are free to choose not

to answer a question, and you can stop the interview at any time – if this does happen, there will be no consequences. If you do find that taking part in this study has made you feel uncomfortable or has brought up difficult or painful feelings, please let me know so that we can talk about what kind of support you might need. I will provide you with a list of possible resources for you to contact if you need more support.

**How will your identity and information be protected?**

The interview will be audio/video-recorded and transcribed – transcribing means we will write a text version of what you say. This is to ensure that we are able we get the most accurate picture of what you tell me in the interview. The recording will be kept on a password-protected computer that only the researcher, her supervisor and transcriber will have access to it. Once the data has been transcribed and all of your identifying information (any information that might give away your identity) will be removed, the recording will be destroyed. If we use professional transcription services, we will be required to sign an agreement to secure all data and return the recordings once the transcription is complete. They will also be required keep the data secure and confidential.

The information that you provide us in the interviews will be used to write a Master’s thesis, and some of it may be published in an academic journal. Sometimes, popular media also takes an interest in the research that we produce. However, all of your identifying information, including your name, the name of your place of work, or any other information that someone else could use to know who you are will **not** appear in this research report or in any publications.

**What happens if you change your mind about participating?**

Participation in the study is entirely voluntary, which means that you are completely free to change your mind and there will be no consequences for you. If you decide to participate in the research project, you can decide to stop at any time and you will not need to explain why. If you choose to stop participating halfway through the interview process, the researcher will ask your consent to keep the recording of your interview. If you are not happy with this, the recording will be destroyed.

**If you have questions about the study, please feel free to contact the following people:**

**Rebecca Briscoe (Researcher):** Brsreb003@myuct.ac.za; 082 777 0149

**Dr Maxine Spedding (Supervisor):** [maxine.spedding@uct.ac.za](mailto:maxine.spedding@uct.ac.za); 021 650 3452

**If you have any questions, comments or complaints about your rights as a study participant, please contact Ms Rosalind Adams at the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town: 021 650 3417.or rosalind.adams@uct.ac.za**

I \_\_\_\_\_ (name) have read the above and I am happy with my understanding of the study; as well as the possible benefits, risks and alternatives. My questions about the study have been answered. I hereby voluntarily consent to participate in the research study as described. I have been offered copies of this consent form.

**Signature of Participant:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Signature of Researcher:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

I give permission for my interview to be recorded with an audio/video recorder and for the recording to be transcribed by a professional transcriber.

**Name of Participant (Printed):** \_\_\_\_\_

**Signature of Participant:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix D: Resource list



### For 24/7 assistance:

- **Cipla:** A free 24h counselling helpline. Counselling is also available via WhatsApp.
  - *General:* 0800 456 789
  - *WhatsApp:* 076 88 22 775
  - *Drug Safety:* 080 222 6662
  - *Email:*
  - *Website:* Cipla.co.za
  
- **LifeLine:** This is a toll-free number and different counsellors are proficient in 11 different official South African languages.
  - *General:* 0861 322 322.
  - *Gender-based violence:* 0800 150 150.
  - *AIDS:* 0800 012 322.
  - *Email:*
  - *Website:* lifelinesa.co.za
  
- **South African Depression and Anxiety Group (SADAG):**
  - *Counsellors are available between 8am-8pm weekly.*
  - *General helpline:* 0800 456 789.
  - *Suicidal emergencies:* 0800 567 567.
  - *Email:*
  - *Website:* sadag.org
  - *Other services:* Mental health information available; Referral services; Free medical treatment where available; Workshops and Support groups.

### **Counselling/Support groups/Other organisations:**

- **Hope house Counselling Centre:** Free one-on-one confidential counselling and addiction support sessions are available at this Ngo.
  - *Bergvliet- Counselling:* 021 715 0424/ *Email:* [bookingsbergvliet@gmail.com](mailto:bookingsbergvliet@gmail.com)
  - *Kuils River- Counselling:* 021 903 0521/ *Email:* hopehousekuilsriver@gmail.com
  - *Tableview- Counselling:* 021 522 9228 or 081 500 3054/  
*Email:* blaauwberg.hopehouse@gmail.com
  - *Website:* hopehouse.org.za
  - *Other services:* Workshops; school programmes.
  
- **Narcotics Anonymous Western Cape:** A free support group for recovering addicts who meet regularly to help each other remain sober.
  - *Free 24hr hotline:* 086100 6962.
  - *Website:* na.org.za
  - *Email:* [wc-helpline@na.org.za](mailto:wc-helpline@na.org.za)
  - *Find an online list of meetings nearest to you.*
  
- **NICRO:** This organisation specialises in helping previous offenders reintegrate back into their communities. As well as providing free family and individual therapy. They aid communities and families empower offenders to live a new healthy lifestyle.
  - *Walk in services are provided (see website for more info).*
  - *General:* 021 462 0017.
  - *Website:* Nicro.org.za
  - *Email:* info@nicro.org.za. support.
  - *Address:* 4 Buitensingel St, Schotsche Kloof, Cape Town, 8001.
  - *Other services:* Legal aid; Psychosocial assessments for court; Tracking and Aftercare; Development of management plans; Parenting programme; Community service learning.

- **The parent centre:** Parents and guardians are taught positive and healthy parenting skills. Free training, counselling and support is provided.
  - *General:* 021 762 0116
  - *Website:* [theparentcentre.org.za](http://theparentcentre.org.za)
  - *Email:* [marketing@theparentcentre.org.za](mailto:marketing@theparentcentre.org.za)
  - *Address:* 22 Wetton Road, Wynberg, 780